

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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E. O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MARCH 30 MEETING

1. SEMENOV'S STATEMENT AT TODAY'S MEETING AMPLIFIED AND SOMEWHAT FURTHER SPELLED OUT THEIR CONCEPT OF " RESTRAINT" AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A FORMAL STATEMENT BY HIM RAISED THE QUESTION OF MIRV'S, ALBEIT IN ATTACKING OUR STRESS ON IMPORTANCE OF SURVIVABILITY AND PENETRABILITY OF CENTRAL SYSTEMS. HE SAID IT WAS FALSE TO ARGUE THAT MIRV'S WERE STABILIZING BECAUSE THEY INCREASED PENETRABILITY; INSTEAD THEY INCREASED THE WAR- FIGHTING CAPABILITY AND LEAD TO A NEW ROUND IN ARMS RACE.

2. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION I BLUNTLY TOLD SEMENOV THAT HE SHOULD BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT IN ANY PERMANENT AGREEMENT US HAD TO HAVE NOT ONLY SUBSTANCE BUT APPEARANCE OF EQUALITY IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS; BUT AGAIN REPEATED THAT IF WE CAN REACH SOME UNDERSTANDING ON CENTRAL SYSTEMS, NOT NECESSARILY A FINAL ONE, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS. HE SAID THAT HE WAS UNDER IMPRESSION THAT I HAD SOME ALTERNATIVE VERSION OF THE POSITION THAT I HAD THUS FAR TAKEN ON AGGREGATES WHICH, IF I WOULD DISCUSS PRIVATELY WITH HIM, WOULD " HELP MOVE THINGS ALONG." HE URGED THAT I BE MORE CONCRETE THAN I HAVE BEEN THUS FAR AND AGAIN URGED IMPORTANCE OF TIME FACTOR.

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3. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO PENETRATE ALL THE VERBAL FOLIAGE AND GET AT THEIR POSITION ON " RESTRAINT," IT NOW SEEMS, AT LEAST AS SET FORTH IN TODAY' S STATEMENT, TO COME DOWN TO A PROPOSAL THAT THERE BE TWO " UNDERTAKINGS." THE FIRST WOULD BE AN UNDERTAKING TO REFRAIN FROM MAJOR NEW PROGRAMS OR DEVELOPING NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS, SUCH AS NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC AIRCRAFT AND OTHER ITEMS LISTED UNDER " A" THROUGH " F" IN THEIR MARCH 27 PROPOSAL (PARA 3, USDEL SALT 117), WHICH ARE NOT COVERED BY THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THE SECOND " UNDERTAKING" WOULD BE NOT TO DEVELOP AND DEPLOY " NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD INCREASE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR," EVEN THOUGH WITHIN THE TERMS OF AREAS COVERED BY THE INTERIM AGREEMENT-- PRESUMABLY SUCH SYSTEMS AS TRIDENT AND IMPROVED MINUTEMAN ON OUR SIDE. IT IS STILL NOT AT ALL CLEAR WHETHER SUCH " UNDERTAKINGS" WOULD BE IN THE FORM OF FORMAL SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS, A BROAD AGREED EXHORTATION WITHOUT SPECIFICS, OR UNILATERAL STATEMENTS. HOWEVER IT DID APPEAR CLEARER TODAY THAN HERETOFORE THAT THESE UNSPECIFIED " UNDERTAKINGS" WOULD BE INTERIM, EFFECTIVE PENDING CONCLUSION OF A PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

4. WHILE HIS STATEMENT ON MIRVS WAS COUCHED IN TERMS OF A REFUTATION OF OUR POSITION ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SURVIVABILITY AND PENTRABILITY, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE ALSO TO INTERPRET IT AS AN INVITATION TO MAKE SOME PROPOSAL ON MIRVS.

5. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HE NEVER REPLIED TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HIS " REJECTION UNDER INSTRUCTIONS" OF OUR POSITION ON ICBM THROW- WEIGHT WITHOUT MENTIONING AGGREGATE NUMBERS AND SUB- LIMIT ON ICBM NUMBERS MEANT THAT HE FELT THAT LATTER TWO POINTS IN THE US POSITION WERE IN A DIFFERENT CATEGORY?

6. AT NEXT TUESDAY' S MEETING I PLAN TO CENTER MY STATEMENT AROUND AN ANALYSIS AND REFUTATION OF HIS TODAY' S STATEMENT.
JOHNSON

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